1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921);1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

tribe. This incident a number of natives living today remember. I was told in Nuku Hiva that the people of the small valley of Ua Uka, between Tai o Hae and Haka Ui, were defeated in war, took flight in their canoes, and were never heard of again.

Unity of the Group

That the Marquesas may be regarded as a unified group of Polynesian stock is evidenced by the culture, language, traditions, archaeology, and physique of the people. Genealogies furnish an important bit of evidence indicating this unity. According to these records, which are everywhere of the same system in their earlier sections, the people of all the islands regarded themselves as descended from Atea.

There are, however, many variations of a minor sort, due to local differentiation. Such are the dialectical differences of the several sections of the groups; there appears to be also a slight physical variation between the northern and southern sections which may indicate predominance of one or another element of settlers in each particular region. The people of the south—that is, Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, Hiva Oa—tend to longer heads, curlier hair, shorter stature, and lighter skin. Differences in stone work observed by Mr. Linton indicate corresponding variations in the two sections of the group. The people in the southern section did not build with as large stone, nor did they erect as large platforms and dance areas as those of the northern section. On the other hand, the arts of carving and sculpturing stone and of cutting stone blocks were much more highly developed in the south. Furthermore, in correlation with this stone work, we nd that the art of wood carving and the higher, later evolution of the art of tattooing were centered in the southern group, and that they spread from there to the north. In the southern section the chief was less sacred than in the northern and there was less definite social stratification and private ownership of land. In the discussion of Hiva Oa, it is brought out that there is good reason to believe Hiva Oa, the largest island of the southern section, to have been the central source for most of the traditions of the group. The people of Hiva Oa, particularly of Atu Ona, have today a very deep-set feeling that Hiva Oa ways represent the genuine Marquesan, while for those of Nuku Hiva, they have a decided contempt. It will be brought out in the discussion on The Chief that there seems to have been a decidedly stronger tendency toward the recognition of sanctity in chiefs in the northern section than in the southern.

In our travelling about the group, we noted very marked temperamental differences between the inhabitants of the two sections, evidenced in a number of ways. The people in the south are very aggressive, extreme

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

184 in their individual independence, and speak their dialect loudly and with great energy. On the other hand, the people of the northern section are gentler and less aggressive and their speech is quieter and softer. I had supposed this difference to be due chiefly to the fact that the northern section had been subject to missionary and other foreign influence several generations longer than the southern, until I found that the evidence of some of the earliest visitors indicates the existence of this very difference at the time of the first European contact. Marchand's (22) remarks on this subject are illuminating. This voyager visited the Marquesas in 1790. Speaking of people of the island of Ua Pou, he says:

> They appeared less active, less intelligent than the natives of Santa Christina (Tahuata). Neither have they that belligerent air which evidences a proud and independent character. . . . In the glimpse that we had of them on shore one was much pleased with their peaceable and amicable conduct: different in this way from all the people of the Pacific Ocean, they did not show any inclination to steal; they did not even go so far as to make a request and seemed to forbid themselves even to desire.

Marchand speaks also of the good behavior and gentleness of the people of Nuku Hiva, with whom he came in contact (22, Vol. I, pp. 167-8). That the aggressiveness of the people of the southern section was not a result of the fact that they had been in previous contact with Europeans and had acquired this attitude towards them in soliciting coveted gifts, but rather that it was natural to them is proved by the fact that they exhibited it so markedly toward Mendana's expedition as early as 1595. (25, pp. 16-21.)

The question of differentiation within the group has been considered from the point of view of its being between the northern sections (Ua Pou, Nuku Hiva and Ua Huka) and the southern sections (Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva). There is, however, evidence—linguistic, political and perhaps physical—which may indicate that Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva formed a section in which one type was dominant, while eastern Nuku Hiva belonged with the southern section. On the other hand, eastern Nuku Hiva may have constituted a third section by itself.

166 That there was not more differentiation in various parts of the Marquesas is due to several causes. In the first place there was active trade within the group, an exchange of articles of local manufacture. In the second place the political situation shows that tribes, compelled by defeat in war to forsake their own valleys, moved frequently from one part of an island to another and from one island to another. A third and less important circumstance contributing to exchange of articles and ideas is the fact that there was much travelling within the group for adventure and amusement as well as for trade.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

621
578

same people from Eia One to Hana Iapa. In the valley of Pua Ma'u there seems to have been a feud between the inhabitants of the northern and southern parts of the valley.

The Ua-ivi had numerous feuds among themselves, but fought as a whole against the Pa'aha-tai and others of the Pepane division, as well as with this division against Nuku in general, and particularly against the Na-iki. They were the enemies of the Tau-po-tua. The Miti were probably an offshoot of the Ua-ivi. (See fig. 2.)

Tahu Ata (Santa Christina)

Tahu Ata was, so to speak, a dependency of Hiva Oa, particularly of the Na-iki, and was included with the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The only information that I obtained regarding local wars and feuds was that the people of Hapa-tone were at war with those of Vai Tahu. (See fig. 3.)

Fatu Hiva (Magdalena)

Fatu Hiva was also included in the Nuku division of Hiva Oa. The Eva-eva were allied with the Ana-inoa, and together, these two were the bitter enemies of the Mata'a and the Mo'ota, who were allies. In one great war, the Mata'a and the Mo'ota were driven to take refuge temporarily at Vai Tahu, Tahu Ata, where they subsequently returned. There were numerous local feuds in Omo'a. The story of Putio recounts a war, in which Putio was allied with Fatu Hiva and the inhabitants of the valley of Heke Ani on Hiva Oa against the inhabitants of the plateau settlement on Hiva Oa, called Mo'ea. (See fig. 4.)

Ua Huka (Washington Island)

On Ua Huka, the people of Vai Paee were allied with those of Haane against the inhabitants of Hokatu. This island was probably never of great importance. Tradition shows relationship with both Nuku Hiva and northern and eastern Hiva Oa. (See fig. 5.)

Ua Pou (Adams Island)

On the island of Ua Pou, the whole of the western region from Haka he Tau to Haka Tao was at war with the whole of the eastern region from Aneo to Hoho'i. In one of these wars the people of Haka he Tau and Ha'a Kuti were compelled to flee and take refuge in Tai o Hae whither they subsequently returned. It is interesting that there was one group of people on Ua Pou, those living in Haka Mai'i, who are said never to have fought, because their chiefs did not believe in fighting. Some say that this was also true of the people of Hikeu and of Haka Tao. Another matter of particular interest in connection with Ua Pou is that the only instance of one chief's attaining authority over a whole island

[184]

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE TRIBE

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE SOCIAL ORDER

It has been pointed out that in some of the large valleys there were single great tribes with subdivisions, while in other places there was a number of unrelated tribes; that, beyond certain loose alliances there was no unity between different sections of islands and different valleys, and even that there was warfare within single valleys between related tribes. In other words, political organization in the Marquesas never went beyond the tribal stage.

Every tribe had its chief. When some of the great tribes were subdivided, the subdivisions had each its own chief, who was entirely independent; in other tribes the chiefs of the subtribes were under the authority of the chief of the larger group. At Atu Ona, where there were five tribes that were all related and known as a whole as Na-iki, there was no chief who had authority over all the valley, but each tribe had its own chief who was independent of the others. On the other hand, in the valley of Haka Ui on Nuku Hiva, there was one chief who had authority over all the tribe of Tai-oa, while under him there were subchiefs over the subdivisions of this tribe. I was told that in the valley of Haka Hau on Ua Pou two of the tribes had each of them two chiefs, each of whom consulted the other on all tribal matters, though each controlled his group of people. This, it would seem, is an example of the first step in subdivision and the formation of new tribes.

It has already been pointed out that it was only on the island of Ua Pou that there was any approach to political unity on one island through dominance by a single chief: in other words, that this was the only island which had what might properly be called a king. It is my opinion, however, that it is unnecessary to dignify any chief in the Marquesas by the title, "king," for the political organization was always of the very simplest order, and the relationship of the *haka-iki* and his people was always that of a chief to his fellow-tribesmen, never approaching that of a king to subjects.

Accounts of early visitors bring out clearly the communism and simple democratic nature of the tribe. Krusenstern (17, p. 165) speaks of government on Nuku Hiva as being "anything but monarchical," and observed that if the chief should "venture to strike anyone, he would infalliby meet with a like return." An early missionary visitor observed the same thing (1, pp. 223-224):

> They could hardly be said to have the rudest systems of civil government. They had a sort of democracy of liberty, or license, without law. When once a missionary

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

565 622 indicate some difference in class. He writes, referring to Nuku Hiva, probably to Taiohae, as follows:

> Among many of the lower class, who were daily on board the ship, the body was small without being compact, the belly out of all proportion large, and their manner of walking slow and trailing. Among the women of distinction, who seldom or ever came on board, this was not the case: they were of a pleasing form, with slender waists, and great vivacity, so that they had a just claim to be called hand some. Of this truth I have been convinced by my own eyes, since Major Friderici, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, in our walks about the valleys, have sometimes met women and girls of the higher classes. They were very different from the women who lived about the harbour, taller in stature, with more decorum of manners, and never without some kind of covering; they would not enter into conversation with us, but seemed altogether modest and reserved.

Such differences as are here remarked by this writer may have resulted entirely from habits of life and conditions during childhood, which would naturally have been more favorable for children of the wealthy. Melville's descriptions of life in Tai-pi Vai would not indicate that he was impressed with the idea that there was a chiefly class in this valley. It will be remembered that reference has been made to evidence which would suggest a secondary immigration to the Marquesas from Tahiti affecting Ua Pou and western Nuku Hiva most. It is interesting that one of the three tribes or groups in the valley of Vai Paee on Ua Huka was called Papa Haka-iki. All evidence that I obtained in the three islands of the southern section of the group indicates that any conception of a chiefly class distinct from a class of commoners was almost entirely, if not completely, absent there.

554 Differences of individuals in prestige were dependent on function in tribal affairs. Those who functioned within the tribe as directors and assistants in communal religious activities may be grouped as a distinct class, which was sacred because of association with sacred activity. These were the inspirational priest *(tau'a)*, the mouthpiece of the tribal god; the temple assistants *(moa)*, chosen by the *tau'a;* and the ceremonial priest (*tuhuna o'ono*). These functioners performed their part in the tribal activity more or less independently of the chief, whose authority was confined to civil and political matters.

[701] Warriors, including the war leaders *(toa)* and fighters in general, constituted a definite class only during war time, when they were *tapu* and 554 segregated. Any group engaged in communal activity, such as fighters, 571 planters, and fishermen, formed a body set apart and sacred for the time being. But such groups, even though their personnel were fixed (as in the case of fishermen, for example), seem never in any sense to have been regarded as classes in the social order. In other words, there was no tendency toward the classification of society according to industries, though

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

883 836 something to be ashamed of. Although youths and maids at this period usually lived at home, they had absolute freedom. A mother's pride was greatest and it was a matter of boasting if her daughter had the greatest number of suitors in her train. A party consisting of one girl with from ten to twenty youths would sometimes spend the night together in the bush. A favorite pastime was the making of nests in the bush and spending the night in pairs or in small groups. Du Petit-Thouars says (10, p. 361) that some of the young girls did not attain puberty before leaving the paternal roof. Being their own mistresses, they went their own way, abandoned themselves to every caprice, led the most licentious life that can be imagined, until at last each attached herself to one, who having obtained the place of preference in her heart, wished to become her husband.

This conventional, free period of adolescence makes easily comprehensible the custom which led girls to swim to the ships of early visitors and give themselves freely to their crews. A girl at this age was expected to seek the attention of men. With the arrival of ships loaded with those seeking just what the girl had to offer, there would inevitably result just what occurred: native girls giving themselves freely, and the white men enjoying the satisfaction of his desires, but bringing back to his world an account of the natives as totally depraved, sexual animals. Old residents have described to me the reception on Nuku Hiva of a whole whaleboat crew of visitors from Ua Pou by a single girl. It seems possible that the offering of hospitality in this way to outsiders may have been a convention similar to that in Samoa which brought about the institution of the village [574] hostess. Krusenstern in speaking of the advances made by Nuku Hiva girls to his European crew says (16, p. 133) that the people who stood around approved in the highest degree of the grimaces of the girls, who appeared to have been called upon to play this part.

883 [184] It seems probable that *ka'ioi* was a more definitely developed institution in the northern section than in the southern. The accounts of early visitors suggest its being more definitely organized there than evidence obtained from informants in the southern section would indicate. Certain it is, however, that there was nowhere any definite organization into a society comparable to that of the *arioi* in Tahiti. And, furthermore, it is certain that there was never any honor paid to them in the Marquesas.

Stewart (26) speaks of the *ka'ioi* of Nuku Hiva in this way:

> There are those among the men, a species of dandy I presume, who imitate the females in the use of the juice of the papa, and in avoiding all exposure to the sun; but do it at the sacrifice of the privileges of the tabu. They are indeed chiefly of the number already under its restrictions, as singers and dancers at the public exhibitions (p. 233). The singers by profession called kaioi are the poets

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The housework that required skill or was sacred was performed by the relatives of the chief and chiefess. The female relatives beat the cloth and made the mats, minor household utensils, and so on. Male relatives made the other utensils, implements, weapons, and the like, and also planted, collected, and prepared food. Competent members of the family aided the chief in directing tribal affairs.

Etiquette

There was little formality or etiquette in the association of the chief with his people. On Nuku Hiva it is said that chiefs and chiefesses were always addressed as *haka-iki*, or *ha'a-te-pe'iu*. For example, *"o au nei, tu u haka-iki"* (It is I, my chief) or, *"Ua he'e oe, tu u haka-iki, ma te vaka!"* (You will go by the canoe, my chief[1]) or, *"Ka'oha nui te ha'a-te-pe'iu"* (Cordial greetings to the chiefess). *Te-ï'i* and *te-iki* (shortened *te a'iki*, the chief) were terms used in addressing a young male chief. The corresponding forms for chiefly maids were *tahia* or the shortened *ti'a*, signifying noble, high born, gracious. Both of these terms have come in modern days to be favored prefixes to personal names and hence are very common; but in the ancient days they were evidently used in a much more restricted sense.

In Pua Ma'u all members of a chief's tribe were allowed to enter his house freely and without formality, but persons not of his tribe were not accorded this right. On Ua Pou, on the other hand, commoners were not allowed to enter the house of the *papa haka-iki* or the *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. This subject is discussed elsewhere under the description of the various aspects of sacredness of chiefs and chiefesses, which in Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva prevented commoners from entering chief's households but which produced no such regulations in Hiva Oa. The important matter in connection with etiquette is the complete lack of that tendency toward the elaborate formality characteristic of Tonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii.

Dress and Insignia

In the main the chief and chiefess wore the same style of dress as other members of the tribe, but on account of their wealth they had cloth and ornaments in greater quantity and of finer quality. *Hiapo*, a red *cloth* made of banyan bark, was *tapu* to *tama haka-iki*, first-born males. There were two things only that were definitely restricted to chiefs and chiefesses and that may be called chiefly insignia: the *tahi'i*, a pandanus leaf fan with carved handle; and the *to'o-to'o-pio'o* (*toko-toko-pio'o*), a thin staff, approximately six feet long, at the upper extremity of which was a band about three inches wide made of colored sennit cun-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent.

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship.

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock.

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaha*,

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ADOPTION

Terms and Conventions

The terms used for foster relationship were the same as those used for blood relationship except for the addition of an adjective indicating adoption. In general it may be said that the adopted child had the same rights and was subject to the same restrictions as the born child; though there were exceptions. One informant on Uuku Hiva said that *poupuna* (literally, grandchild) was applied to an adopted child unless the adopted mother were the sister of the true mother, in which case the child was called *tama* and was named after the father or the mother of the sisters. I have never heard elsewhere of an adopted child being called by the term for grandchild.

The foster child was named by the adopting family, but had also other names given to it by its own parents. With a couple who had no children, it immediately assumed the position of first-born. Some informants say that the child was taken to the foster mother immediately after birth, others say not until after weaning. In case there were already other children who had been born to the man and his woman, or other adopted children, it appears that it rested with the parents whether the newly adopted child came into the position of the first-born. Dordillon says that if the adopting parents had other children the adopted children shared in inheritance and succeeded to the rights of the family on an equal basis with the natural children or more frequently had some advantage over the natural children. It was explained to me on Nuku Hiva that adopted sons had all the rights of born sons in a family but that adopted girls were practically slaves to their foster brothers.

One informant, an old European resident, said that a woman could not adopt a child outside of her own class, whether high or low. This was in Nuku Hiva, where there was class distinction. It seems probable that everywhere the limit on adoption was not a matter of class but the same limit that we have found determined social distinction in the Marquesas—that is, wealth. None but a wealthy family could have undertaken the exchange of gifts that accompanied the formalities of adopting a child from another wealthy family.

Va is a term given by Dordillon (8) and said to mean "to take back the name after giving it in adoption." Although I have never heard of such an occurrence, this word suggests that sometimes after a name had been formally given the adoption was rescinded and the name taken back.

For adoption, the first-born son of a family was always preferred if such could be secured. The second choice was a first-born daughter. In

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

During the time that the body lay in the shed erected for its protection, food was offered to it and coconut shell vessels filled with *popoi* and fish were kept near the bier. Père Pierre says that, before eating, the members of the family took a little *popoi* on the end of the finger and threw it into the shed to feed the dead. Likewise the first puff of tobacco smoke ejected into the air was dedicated to the dead.

Destruction of Property

All the articles that had been associated with the dead person during the time of sickness and after death, including clothes, utensils, house, and the clothing of the attendants of the body, were burned. It is to be noted, however, that this custom is not entirely a result of a belief in contamination through association with sickness and death. It will be seen that the special structures associated with all labor were burned upon completion of the labor.

So much for the general features of the treatment of dead bodies. There were certain details in practice that varied considerably on the several islands. According to Linton, private sepulchral platforms *(taha tupapa'u)* were not used in Fatu Hiva:

> The body was slung under the roof of the dwelling on a sort of stretcher. At the end of two or three days there was an explosion and the bowels ran out into vessels placed below to receive them. The body was then taken out, oiled, and mummified as elsewhere. After the mummification, it was kept in the house for a long time, and finally hidden in a cave.

Coffins and Biers

On Hiva Oa coffins were called *papa tupapa'u*. On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a portable bier that was kept in the sleeping house was called *papa tupapuku*. This seems not to have been used on Hiva Oa. On the other hand the bier erected on the special platform for the dead was called on Hiva Oa *fata'a* and *tupapa'u*. The coffin itself in which the bones were placed was called on Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, *pa'aha*.

Coffins were made of the wood of various trees: *mei* (breadfruit), *netae* (flamboyant), *puatea*, and *hutu (Barringtonia speciosa)*. It was customary for the family of an old man or woman to make his or her coffin some time in advance of death. In case death occurred suddenly, the coffin had to be made quickly and was less elaborate than otherwise. Coffins were frequently referred to as canoes *(vaka)*. The process of adzing was similar to that followed in hollowing out a canoe, the tree being felled, a piece of the proper length cut, and the outside and the inside shaped by adzing. The making of a coffin for a chief was a cere-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

764 778 places of chiefs and priests and at the same time places of human sacrifice and places where revenge victims were devoured. The type of *ahu* in which human flesh was eaten was accessible only to priests, chiefs, and warriors. One infers that the other *ahu,* being tribal, was more accessible to the common people.

Broadly used, *me'ae* was applied not only to sacred places that had platforms or buildings associated with treatment of bodies or ceremonial but sometimes to any places, such as trees, hill tops, or caves, that had been used for disposal of sacred relices of the dead. Specifically, however, when a *me'ae* is spoken of, a sacred place with platforms and other structures, used for tribal ceremonial, is referred to.

764 778 ● 184 Sepulchral platforms were used rarely, if at all, by private families on Nuku Hiva and on Ua Pou. Mr. Linton found that they were absent also in Fatu Hiva. On Ua Huka Mr. Linton found them to be used in the same way as those on Hiva Oa, but called, however, *vahi tomia tupapa'u (vahi,* place; *tomia,* burial). Though these platforms, called *taha tupapa'u* in Hiva Oa, were not used on Ua Pou nor on Nuku Hiva, there was in use on Ua Pou, and apparently on Nuku Hiva also, a special house in which the body was treated. In other words, the only difference in practice was that the house was not placed on a specially erected platform on Ua Pou unless the body was that of a chief or priest, in which case the house was on the platfrom of the *me'ae.* On Ua Pou, the body of a commoner was treated in a small special house or shed erected on the ground near the platform of the sleeping house or was kept on a portable bier in the sleeping house. Evidence obtained by me would indicate that it was only the bodies of those of chiefly or priestly class that were honored by being placed in the *me'ae.* As regards Nuku Hiva, Porter says (24, pp. 114-115), without stating whether he is speaking merely of the chiefly class or not:

> When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a tabbooed house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practiced with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them.

Porter's evidence would indicate that on Nuku Hiva it was the bodies of men that were put in the *me'ae,* the bodies of women being treated in an abandoned sleeping house.

TAHA TUPAPA'U

764 778 On Hiva Oa the *taha tupapa'u,* or platform for the dead, is a simple small platform carefully constructed of stream boulders, well fitted to-

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

are placed. The house had no door or opening of any kind; but excited by curiosity, one of the brethren opened a hole on the side of it, and beheld a coffin fixed upon two stakes, about a yard from the ground. 764 778

The following is a description (17, p. 158) of a similar place on Fatu Hiva:

On the platform were two coffins of hollowed coco-nut trees slung between stakes, stuck up after the fashion of piled arms. Over these coffins were the remains of a kind of thatch of leaf matting. Skulls grinned at us from the hollows, between the roots of neighboring trees. The coffins had fallen partly from their places, and skeletons, tappa cloth, strings of beads, and hair mixed with cocoa fibre, streamed over the sides on to the ground, presenting a gruesome spectacle. Bowls for holding food for the corpses lay about, a flask made from a gourd hung from a branch, and two roughly carved wooden gods surveyed the scene with a sort of drunken solemnity.

The following descriptions by Porter and Melville of what they observed in Nuku Hiva are interesting, in that they are indicative of the definite conception in the mind of the native that the soul of the dead went to Havai'i in a canoe. On Hiva Oa I have never heard of this custom of placing the body seated in a canoe and am inclined to think it was peculiar to Nuku Hiva. Porter (24, p. 111) says: [184]

On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral, shells, etc., with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed towards the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, ear-rings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country.

Melville's description (23, pp. 201-202) is as follows:

Like all the other edifices of any note, it was raised upon a small pi-pi of stones, which, being of unusual height, was a conspicuous object from a distance. A light thatching of bleached palmetto-leaves hung over it like a self-supported canopy; for it was not until you came very near that you saw it was supported by four slender columns of bamboo, rising at each corner to a little more than the height of a man. A clear area of a few yards surrounded the pi-pi and was enclosed by four trunks of cocoa-nut trees resting at the angles on massive blocks of stone. The place was sacred. The sign of the inscrutable Taboo was seen in the shape of a mystic roll of white Tappa, suspended by a twisted cord of the same material from the top of a slight pole planted within the enclosure. . . . On all sides as you approached this silent spot you caught sight of the dead chief's effigy, seated in the stern of a canoe, which was raised on a light frame a few inches above the level of the pi-pi. The canoe was about seven feet in length; of a rich, dark colored wood, handsomely carved and adorned in many places with variegated bindings of stained sinnate, into which were ingeniously wrought a number of sparkling sea-shells, and a belt of the same shells ran all around it. The body of the figure—of whatever material it might have been made—was effectually concealed in a heavy robe of brown tappa, revealing only the hands and head; the latter skilfully carved in wood, and surmounted by a superb arch of plumes. These plumes, in the subdued and gentle gales which found access to this sequestered spot, were never for one moment at

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

252 what as skate, though it can only be kept one day. It is cut into cubes, salted, saturated with lime juice, tied up in fau leaves, and kept until the next day, when it is a gluey mass. This is quite palatable.

Various sea-birds—the *tara*, the *noio*, the *ka*, the *upe* (large wild pigeon), the *keuhe* (snipe)—are braised, being speared on a slender stick, after plucking, and turned as on a spit over charcoals. In modern times chickens (*moa*) are boiled in coconut milk or fried, but it seems doubtful that they were eaten in the old days. On Hiva Oa, the natives say that chickens belonged to the priests, and were never eaten. Langsdorff (18, [237] p. 176) says that poultry were not much in request for food, their plumage only being desired.

Pig (*pua'a, puaka*) is, of course, the staple meat, the principal dish at all feasts and saved for special occasions even in ancient times, as Porter testified (24, p. 113).

> For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts, and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion, and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

[231] The same writer says that they castrate the boars to improve their size (24, p. 91). Pigs are not stuck, but are hung and strangled so that the blood remains in the animals. A small slit is made in the stomach, just large enough to insert the hand and pull out the bowels, the liver and lights being left in. The bowels are washed, rubbed on stones in the river, turned wrong-side out on a small stick, and cleaned. These are baked separately and eaten with *popoi*. If the pig is sufficiently large a few hot [184] stones are placed in it (on Nuku Hiva though not on Hiva Oa) to aid the cooking, and it is placed on leaves (8) in the oven on its stomach—not on its back as is the Tahitian custom—the hot stones having been covered with *koknu* leaves, guava sticks, and a layer of earth to keep the animal from burning or baking too hard. Melville (23, p. 187) describes the process as follows:

> Having got thus far in the matter, the body was removed to a little distance; and, being disembowelled, the entrails were laid aside as choice parts, and the whole carcass thoroughly washed with water. An ample thick green cloth, composed of the long thick leaves of a species of palm-tree, ingeniously tacked together with little pins of bamboo, was now spread upon the ground, in which the body being carefully rolled it was borne to an oven previously prepared to receive it. Here it was at once laid upon the heated stones at the bottom, and covered with thick layers of leaves, the whole being quickly hidden from sight by a mound of earth raised over it.

252 621 It is commonly said in Taiohae that the people of Tai-pi living up-valley were not allowed by the hostile lower valley tribe to go down to the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

585 that celebrated the completion of arrangements between chiefs for the marriage of their children. The great marriage rites were celebrated at the chief's feast place. According to local informants there was in Atu Ona at the main dance place a special platform that was reserved on such occasions for the daughters of chiefs. Here they stood, dressed in all their finery, to be admired by all. As was usual at all festivals the chief's warriors, *tuhuna*, and other men of the tribe and the women and children were seated about the dance place on the various platforms specially reserved for them.

The youth, who was to be married, was brought into the dance area on the shoulders of a *pahupahu* (mother's brother), while the girl was brought on the shoulders of her *pahupahu*, both being clad only in loin cloths. The two were placed in the dance space on a large stone which had been covered by the girl's grandmother with a piece of tapa. There, in view of all, while the two families chanted their genealogies, the marriage was consummated. The feasting, dancing, and singing followed this. One of the most important elements in connection with these marriage festivals was the exchange of gifts between the families. These presents as a whole were called *haitounahe'e* and consisted of every form of wealth, such as ornaments, cloth, pigs, and so on. On Nuku Hiva *haituahe'e* was the term used for these gifts.

I was told at Pua Ma'u that a succession of betrothal and marriage festivals given at different times was customary there. The first was the *ko'ina hunona fañ tapu* (marriage feast of the *tapu* gift, given when a child was betrothed before birth. This is evidently the same as that described above for making *tuia*. At this feast women were forbidden to partake of the food provided. The second rite was the *ko'ina hunona fañ me'ie* (marriage feast of the free gift), which was celebrated after the birth of the *tuia*—at this women were allowed to eat. The last and final feast, which celebrated the sealing of the marriage, was called *ko'ina hunona paona* (last marriage feast). As a part of this rite, a new house was built for the couple to live in. Informants at Pua Ma'u insist that there was no public defloration of the bride on the feast place, and that there was no sexual abandon in connection with these rites.

[184 586]

The following is an account of a *ko'ina hunona* celebrated at Atu Ona: The two families celebrated a succession of these rites. The father of the boy began the festivities, when the lad was about five years old. About two weeks' preparation was required for the building of the special shed (*oho au*) for storing and preparing food. Such rites took place before the boy's father's house, not at the feast place, unless the parent were a chief. After the first breadfruit harvest was put down in the pits,

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ber of victims required and the places where they would be found. People then went to look at the place indicated for the number of victims fixed by the *tau'a*. If the victims designated had not been found at the place indicated by him he would have been regarded as an impostor and no longer a *tau'a*. But the natives say that he was never mistaken.

A priestess possessed by a god or demon (*etua hooku*) made the same evolutions. If she took in her hand a *hoto* (pointed stick of ironwood), it was a sign that human victims were necessary. If she took nothing but a piece of sugar cane, it was a sign that they were not necessary. She wore nothing upon her body but a waist cloth. Relatives could prevent her from making these excursions or evolutions by hiding her loin cloth, thus leaving her entirely naked.

The Sanctity of a Tau'a

The sanctity of the *tau'a* was greater than that of any other member of the tribe. When he was possessed, or when he died, the whole tribe was under a ceremonial *tapu*, which required that no work be done, that no one circulate in the valley, that no fire be lighted, and that no one anoint himself which coconut oil nor with saffron. His great sanctity may easily be understood when one considers that the living man himself was regarded as a god, at most times being called *atua*, god. According to Père Siméon, even the shadow of his house was *tapu*. When a *tau'a* died on Fatu Hiva, his house and all his possessions were burned. His body was so sacred that it could not be touched by anyone. Hence it was not treated and mummified, as other bodies were, but was carried on a bier to a cave in the mountains and there left to decompose. Mr. Linton has given me some interesting examples of the way in which property could be rendered *tapu* by naming it after a *tau'a*. This custom, discussed under Names, made it possible for individuals or a group to restrict a piece of property by giving it a sacred name that belonged to them, thus consecrating the property to themselves. Garcia (14, p. 52) speaks of one *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva, who at his death made red a *tapu* color—thereafter all red things were sacred to him, even fruits and animals.

Private Life of a Tau'a

The evidence of modern informants as to whether *tau'a* married and had families is conflicting. According to some they were allowed to have nothing at all to do with women; others say that they associated with women, when not functioning ceremonially, but had no children; while still others say that intercourse with women was *tapu* only during the performance of rites, but that during the rest of the time *tau'a* might have a family life exactly as did every other member of the tribe. The rules or customs regarding this may have varied in different places. Certain it is, from various sources of evidence, that some *tau'a* had wives and children. The family of a *tau'a* on Nuku Hiva is described by Stewart

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

(26, pp. 306-307) and the legend of the flight of the Na-iki from Atu Ona, which has been quoted, describes the *tau'a* of that tribe as having wife and children. If the office of inspirational priest was inherited, as it seems to have been usually, it goes without saying that such priests married. It is certain that recent *tau'a* in Pua Ma'u and Fatu Hiva married.

Costume of a Tau'a

The only type of dress distinguishing an inspirational priest from anyone else was his headdress. This is said to have been called at Pua Ma'u *pa'e hei pepe atua* (*pepe atua*, many gods). I could obtain no description of this headdress there. Stewart (26, p. 220) describes a *tau'a* wearing on his head "a dried banana leaf neatly and ingeniously wrought into a becoming toque," and elsewhere (26, p. 304), another wearing a tapa turban. In war they wore what was called the *hei pe'a* or *hei maka-maka*, an ornament of cock's plumes for the head. According to Père Siméon (7) their heads were always shaved, and they are also described as having white beards and wearing collars made of boars' tusks (14, pp. 63-65). Stewart (26, p. 305) describes such a priest wearing a long white mantle and over it a shorter mantle of red imported cloth. It has already been pointed out that red was *tapu* to a certain deceased inspirational priest on Nuku Hiva. A woman now living in Pua Ma'u described to Mr. Linton a *tau'a* whom she saw wearing a red blanket in the sacred place of that valley. The iron-wood staff called *hoto*, the form of which is unknown, and three fau sticks wrapped in cloth, were the distinguishing insignia of the *tau'a*. (See Sacred Precincts: The Inspirational Priest's House). Such priests were tattooed like other men.

Death and Deification of a Tau'a

On the occasion of the sickness of an inspirational priest a human sacrifice was offered (18, p. 149). It is said that when such a priest had died a leaf of fruit of a *noni* tree or of some other plant that irritated the skin or was otherwise offensive was placed on the body "so that the *tau'a* would not be hungry." The object of this was evidently to prevent the powerful spirit from lingering about the body. It was necessary that an inspirational priest should always die in the sacred precincts of the tribe, where a special house was built for his body. Following his death, there was a general *tapu* and the rites described under Death were performed: chanting, sacrifices, and treating of the body [according to Père Pierre (4), contradicted in Fatu Hiva]. According to Garcia (14, p. 45) from seven to ten victims were offered on the occasion of such rites, a victim being offered for the different parts of the body of the priest, for the head, eyes,

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

possible that I misunderstood what was said by my informant. On Fatu Hiva there is a belief in spirits going to Havai'i by way of a spring called Te-vai-toetoe, which is located in a small valley on the east coast of the island. Several informants supported this evidence, which furnishes a distinct contrast to the beliefs held on the other islands.

THE SPIRIT WORLD

Below the earth were three lower regions known as Havai'i or Havaiki. The lowest was Havaiki-i-a'o-oa (*i a'o oa*, far below), described as a paradise where there was an abundance of ripe fruit, of good food, the best fish, and where beautiful women were abundant. Here dwelt the spirits of chiefs (sometimes said to dwell in the sky) for whom a great number of pigs were offered. Next above this was Havaiki-ta-a'o, (*a'o*, below) where there was an abundance of everything, but not the luxury of the lowest Havaiki. A certain number of pigs were necessary for entrance into this region. Lastly the upper region was Havaiki-ta-uka (*uka*, above). Here there were only misery and disgusting articles of food, brought down from the earth by *vehine hae* (evil spirits). Those who had offered, on behalf of their spirits, only one pig's head never went beyond this region. There was in addition a special region for those who had not even one head offered for them, the region of the god Tavi-oa, where the bodies of spirits lay in mire until someone offered a pig for them (19).

The chief of all Havai'i was Tonofiti (Tokohiti), whose wife was Fanau (Hanau). The guardian of the gate of the upper underworld was Ivieinui, whose wife was Uputonohiti. The guardian of the gate of the middle region was Pahuamo, and of the lowest of the underworlds, Teikiha'aotepo. These ruling deities and guardians had to be propitiated by means of gifts in order that the spirit might gain admittance to their realms.

There is no conception in the mind of the native today of Havai'i being a land whence their ancestors came—the people conceive of their human progenitors as having dwelt always in the Marquesas. Havai'i is a land of spirits below this world (*te ao ma'ama*) in which the living dwell. Havai'i is the land of the natives' ancestors in the sense that it is thought that the spirits of the dead dwell there, though no native conceives of his stock as having come from Havai'i, so far as I have learned. Men (*enata*) descended directly from the elements and deities that enacted the drama of generative creation. This drama is conceived of as having taken place in or about the region in which they now live.

In connection with these subjects, the phrases *i te tai i Havai'i* (in the seas, or times, of Havai'i) and *tai oa* (distant seas, or ancient times) were

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

THE SKY WORLD

To the native mind the deified ancestral spirits, which were the tribal gods (*etua*), lived in regions in the sky. These tutelary deities of tribes were the departed spirits of chiefs and priests. This idea is illustrated in the story of Tikituao. (See Legends.) This conception obviously conflicts with that of a lower region or paradise for chiefs, which is described by Père Jean (19). Whether these two conceptions were reconciled in any way in the native mind, or whether there were two distinct beliefs belonging to different sections of the group, I have no way of knowing.

One native informant in Pua Ma'u said that according to some persons there are ten, according to others, four, and still others, three sky lands. She knew the names of three: the first and highest is Ani-tou-veohia; the second, Ani-kekeu; and the third, Ani-pupuke. According to Père Simeon (7), some said that there were seven heavens, other three. Legend describes a race, or people, called the Ati-touhua, who were supposed to live in some region in the sky. The character Te-tiki-vae-tahi (the one-legged *tiki*) was one of this race, the people of which were supposed to have only one arm and one leg. In the discussion of gods the three deities residing in the sky who seem to have had a very important connection with the tribal ceremonies are mentioned. (See Gods.)

EVIL SPIRITS

FANAUA

Fanaua were vicious female spirits, who attacked women, causing them to swell as though with child, and killing them. The word *fanaua* is sometimes used today interchangeably with *vehine hae*, which means really evil phantom; but the two words stand for entirely distinct concepts and their usage now is probably due to confusion of thought on the part of the modern natives with regard to their old beliefs. It will be seen below that the word *fanaua* is used today, as it was doubtless used anciently, to describe familiar spirits that took possession of women. These spirits, supported by offerings, served as personal protectors and as agents for inflicting harm on other women. *Vehine hae* were never "familiar" spirits.

Tokai, also called *fanaua*, were sacred places where the bodies of women who died in childbirth were buried. Such a place might be a small platform, a rough pile of stones, or in some localities merely an open space. When such a site was consecrated to a powerful *fanaua*, there was a special attendant. Each *tokai* had its special presiding female demon (*fanaua*) who was supposed to have killed the women whose bodies were buried there. At Taiohae the sacred place was called after the name of the spirit to whom it was consecrated. Whether this was universal or

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

were erected, one in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women together, and the other, a *tapu* house in which the old men chanted the *tapu* chants called *pu'e* and *tona pou*. Besides the erection and decoration of these houses the other preliminaries preceding the festival consisted in preparing the food for the feast and rehearsing the chants and genealogies. The erection of the buildings and preparation of the food was the part of the giver of the feast. When the day of the feast came, the order of ceremony was as follows: first, in the afternoon, the chanting of the *tapu* chants in the *tapu* house (*tona pou*) by the men; then an adjournment, after which the *faufau oa*, then the *vavana*, then the *ti'e mata*, and lastly the *mata* (genealogies) were chanted by men and women together in the common (not *tapu*) house (*fa'e papa*). At the conclusion of all the chanting there was the feast. On the morning following these rites there were certain ceremonial practices which will be described below. Further details of the rite are given with the description of the chants themselves.

The following description of such a festival was given by an old man who had been present at it. The *ko'ina pu'e* and *vavana* were celebrated at night. The month preceding the feast was occupied in preparation of food. A messenger was sent to all the relatives of the family telling them to make ready for the fête by learning well for recitation their sections (*vahina*), or branches, of the family genealogy (*mata*). The messenger was always one of these assisting in the preparations. The festival was opened with the *faufau oa hakaiona*, a chant cried in a high voice by a woman of the family. (See *faufau oa*.) (In this description it would appear that the *pu'e* was chanted in the house in which the women were present. This conflicts with better and more detailed evidence obtained later. I believe that here the old informant confused the *pu'e* and *vavana*, or else that confusion came in through my misunderstanding.) The house in which all the members of the family had gathered together to chant was a large one divided into two parts. The division was marked by the trunk of a banana tree lying on the floor. On the tree trunk burned a candlenut torch and beside it sat a woman. It was this woman who opened the chanting with the *faufau oa*. During her recital smoking was *tapu*, but when it was over this *tapu* was lifted for a short time, until the next chant was begun. This was the *pu'e*. It was chanted alone by the *tuhuna pu'e* who sat by himself on one side of the house, all the people being grouped on the other side. Absolute silence was preserved while the *tuhuna* chanted. When he came to a certain point in his chant he would stop and a representative of some branch of the family would continue with the recitation of the genealogy of his branch. This completed, the *tuhuna* resumed his part, leaving off

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

in the valley announcing his *ko'ina*, bearing in his hand a token which constituted an announcement of the rite. This was called the *meave*, and consisted of a scraped *fau* stem ornamented with a woven green coconut leaf and white bark cloth (a *koufau*). The boy wore a coconut leaf over his shoulders and on his head a white bark-cloth turban, called *pa'e putea*, that had a large bunch or knot of cloth in front over the forehead.

The father went secretly on the afternoon of the rite for a first-born child to get a kind of fish called *pao'o* for the *tona pou*. He must not be seen on his errand. He got also a round sea boulder covered with oyster shells; an octopus, or, if he could not secure an octopus, a taro root with eight rootlets to take its place. These objects were all instrumental somehow in raising the *mana* (power) of the boy. In the festival which was now celebrated there were two special houses in use, the *tona pou*, in which the men chanted the *pu'e*, *tona pou*, and other chants *tapu* to women; and the *fa'e papa*, in which the *vavana* was chanted by men and women. I assume that in a girl's festival only the *fa'e papa* was built and only the *vavana* chanted.

The house in which the *tapu* chants were intoned by men was called a number of names according to its use: *tona pou*, *fa'e pou*, *fa'e pu'e*, *faia'u* or *feiahu*, *oho au no motuhaiki*, and *ohu au no ihi*, all these terms except *feia'u* being names of sacred chants recited at the feast or having reference to them. This structure, built near the tribal feast place (probably on the sacred platform, *me'ae*), is described as a wooden staging (*fata'a akau*) supporting a special house (*oho au*).

The house itself was described as being of the same form as the common dwelling, that is, closed at the ends, open in front, with a pitched rear wall and roof combined. The informant who described it thus said, however, that it was built on a stone platform, whereas other informants said it was on posts. When the rite was finished the house was taken to pieces and the materials were deposited in the precincts of the tribal sacred place. This house was consecrated to the god Tai.

Inside the house at the rear was a decorated altar (*ahu*). A sacred rope (*tou'a kaha*) was also placed somewhere inside. Near the altar, or on or under it, were placed two sacred stone blocks (*fatu*)—possibly one sacred stone block that had two names—from which a piece of stone was taken to make an adz for the boy. Before the house stood a post (*fata*) on which certain ceremonial objects were hung.

No detailed description of the altar (*ahu*) was obtained but it is my belief that it was a pile of sand. This supposition is based on the fact that sand was brought from the seashore for use in connection with the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

805
821

NAMES OF THE DAYS AND NIGHTS OF THE MOON—CONTINUED

	NIGHTS (*po*)	VARIATIONS	DAYS (*oatea*)
24.	O Takaoa tutahi	Tuhiva D F Tanaoa tahi H Hee hee ia L	O Pukepuke
25.	O Takaoa vaveka	Atiati D Tanaoa tahi F Taukume L	O Puke noa
26.	O Takaoa hakapao	Vaka D Tanaoa vavena F Ku mea L	O Tahataha
27.	O Vehi	Tane H Tanaoa haapao F Tana hau vaka L	O Hatihati
28.	O Tane	Moui H Tana hau vehi L	O Maunoa
29.	O Mouikeo	Ononui D H F Nunui L	O Tau noa
30.	O Oko mate	Nu mata L	O Moe noa

The phases of the moon were named as follows: the new moon, *mahina hou* (new moon), or *mahina tu* (rising moon); the half moon, or end of the first quarter, *mahina kotapa* (moon cut off); the full moon, *mahina pi* (moon full); and the moon in its last quarter, *mahina fiti po tano* (moon going to dense darkness).

The different moons were thought to be the children of Atea. (See Genealogies). It is probable that the divergences in the lists of moon names (see page 348) are due to local variation in different sections of the group. It is difficult, however, to understand how the position of the name could be shifted in the lists if these names stood for stars or constellations that appeared at these times—as they very evidently did. The only explanation that comes to my mind is that if there were such shifting and changing of names in the calendar, there must have been corresponding variations in the naming of the stars. Of course no constellation or star is visible during only one moon; There may have been some leeway on account of this. Again, it is to be observed that in two lists there are thirteen names; in the two others, twelve. The differences of position of the names may be due to variations in a custom of interpolating the thirteenth month at different times in different sections of the group. I have no evidence that there was such interpolation other than the occurrence of a thirteenth name in two of the lists. It is to be noted that the names which correspond in the several lists occur always in the same order.

[184]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends.

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space.

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards.

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took.

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[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

LOCAL DIFFERENCES IN MATERIAL CULTURE

Although the material culture of the Marquesas seems to have been nearly uniform, a few local differences are known to have existed. Most of these differences seem to have consisted in a greater or less stressing of features common to the whole culture rather than in a clear-cut absence or presence of traits. In view of the trade and intercourse which are known to have existed in the group even in prehistoric times the survival of such differences seems to indicate that at some former time the local distinctions were still more pronounced. It is difficult at the present time to establish the extent of the local variation. The culture as a whole has broken down under European contact, and since the inter-tribal wars have ceased there has been a considerable movement of the native population. Ua Huka, in particular, is at present inhabited chiefly by persons born in other parts of the group.

For convenience of reference the local differences in materials and practice may be summarized as follows:

HOUSES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
House Platforms	Large and well built. Wide, some square. Much cut stone. Ornamental masonry	Small and less well built. Long and narrow. Cut stone rare. No ornamental masonry	Small and low. Long and narrow. No cut stone. No ornamental masonry
Pit for tapu objects	Common	Absent	Absent
Ridge Pole	Round	Round or many sided	(?)
Front Stringer	Round or square	Square or L shaped	Square or L shaped
Pitch of rear roof	Very steep	Less steep	(?)
Ornamental lashings	Extensively used	On roof only	(?)
Carved house posts	Rare or absent	Normal	Common
Ornamental stone images	Not used	Uncommon	Not used
Stone back rests	Rare or absent	Common	
Unique features of houses	Bamboo partitions	One grass house	
Opu type of popoi pounder	Not used	Common	Rare
Salt pounder	Rare	Not used	Not used
Shape of popoi trough	Short and broad	Long and narrow	Long and narrow

DRESS AND ORNAMENT

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
Tapa	Combined ute and breadfruit used (rare).	Combined ute and breadfruit not used	(?)
Tattooing	Designs predominantly angular, small naturalistic figures	Designs predominantly curvilinear, no naturalistic figures	Same as Hiva Oa
Tattooing Implements	Comb sometimes fixed permanently in handle.	Comb not fixed in handle	Comb not fixed in handle
Taavaha	Common	Less common	(?)
Incrusted head ornament	Present	Not recorded	Not recorded
Paekaha	Not made	Common	Common

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
184 String records	Rare or absent	Common	Common
Wood carving	Inferior	Good	Good

Stone construction, ceremonial structures, sculpture and methods used for the disposal of the dead are reserved for detailed discussion in a report on Marquesan archaeology in preparation.

STONE CONSTRUCTION

	HIVA OA	NUKU HIVA	FATU HIVA
333 Rough Stone	Smaller stone, poorer construction	Large stone, good construction	Small stone, poor construction
Cut Stone	Rare except in ceremonial structures	Common in structures of all sorts	Rare even in ceremonial structures

CEREMONIAL STRUCTURES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
346 Tohua	Large, surrounded by platforms	Smaller, platforms on one side only	Small, enclosed by wall, platform on one side only
Me'ae	Platforms like house platforms, small and simple	Many terraces and platforms, large and complex	Smaller than Hiva Oa but complex
Linking of Tohua and Me'ae	Absent	Constant	Constant

SCULPTURE

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
532 Wooden Images	Common	Common	Common
Stone Images	Rare	Common	Rare
Relief Carvings	Absent	Common	Rare or absent
Architectural Images	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent
Detached Heads	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
764 Mummification in dwelling	Common	Rare	Normal
Mummification in separate house	Rare	Normal	Rare
Platform for embalming house	Absent	Common on s. side of island, rare on north	Rare
Coffin	Canoe shaped with wood cover	Trough shaped with cover of poles	Trough shaped with cover of poles
Tree burial	Common	Rare	Rare

Except for stone construction, ceremonial structures and sculpture the local differences now ascertainable within the Marquesas are so slight that little can be deduced from them; but they appear to point to a higher development of carving in the southern islands of the group and of stone construction in the northern islands. The blending of these two influences in Hiva Oa produced the high development of stone sculpture on that island.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

clusion that the fact reported must have been "quite exceptional" we must agree. It was customary, however, during famine times, for people to seek the service of chiefs in order to be fed, and it may have been the whim of some chief to have a particular mark tattooed upon them, but this was certainly not a general custom. Indeed, Melville relates the "Hanamanoo" episode as an especial and unusual case; and it does not seem unlikely that the same story is at the basis of both his and the Russians' accounts. They have probably misinterpreted the ordinary custom of the father of the *opou* during the period of tattooing feeding the *ka'ioi*, who were no more closely organized as a society than is our own "younger set," to whom they were somewhat analogous. This would fit, too, with the custom of the *tuhuna*'s giving them samples of their art gratis during the rest periods of the *opou*.

A careful search for any possible significance of face designs as tribal marks, corroborative of Porter's statement to this effect (14, p. 114), calls forth today, except in one instance only, vociferous refutation. However, that face patterns were insular during a later period of the art is certain, the oblique *paheke* belonging to Nuku Hiva, the horizontal bands called *ti'ati'apu* being worn by Hiva Oans, and the latter's variant, the *ihuepo*, whose central band covers the nostrils themselves, being prevalent on Fatu Hiva. Lacassagne (9, p. 79) quotes Lombroso as declaring that face tattooing on Nuku Hiva distinguished two enemy factions, the one being marked by a triangle, the other by a circle. Triangles are associated with the tattooing of the inhabitants of Tai-pi Valley by Melville and Berchon, and these Tai-pi were powerful enemies of the tribes of Tai o Hae Valley. More than one present-day informant has stated that men of a certain tribe living in Tai o Hae were marked with a great black circle on the face (Pl. v, 10). Seeing the two styles and finding them associated with two enemy factions, it might be natural to conclude that face decoration was to distinguish enemies; but this is the one instance in which a tribal significance is assigned today to a face design.

That the operation of tattooing was performed during propitious seasons or at times of importance in the life of the individual to be decorated has been reported by Desgraz (18, p. 223). Living Marquesas informants place its practice during the dry season when there was no breadfruit to be harvested, during the months of October, November, December and early January. The women, whose tattooing may still be examined, place the beginning of their work at from seven to twelve years of age; the

Melville made up his story of the "Hanamanoo" episode after having read Langsdorff or Krusenstern.

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the teaching of the *tuhuna* of the northwestern group by those of the southeastern; there are to be found in literary sources accounts of the vogue of different artists and statements from which may be deduced complete changes in the type of design. With a view to discovering how dependent style was upon the taste and originality of individual artists, the names of all artists who executed the designs recorded were noted. When two pieces of work done by the same *tuhuna* were found, the choice of pattern seemed sometimes to be identical (Pl. XI, *C*), sometimes altogether different (Pls, IX, *B* and X, *A*), while the work of different *tuhuna* was sometimes identical (Pl. XIII, *B*). It would seem that all *tuhuna* drew, more or less at their will, from a single body of design.

In the hope of making as clear as possible the probable evolution of this art in the Marquesas towards the elaborate conventional design that prevailed when it was forbidden thirty-eight years ago, the following details are set down.

Quiros records in his description of Mendaña's visit to the southeastern islands in 1595, the observation of "fish and other patterns painted" upon the faces and bodies of the natives. This is corroborated by a living informant who says that formerly women had birds and fish behind their ears and on their legs, and men are reported to have had lizards on their faces. The next word from a voyager that comes to us of this group is dated nearly two centuries later when Forster observes in 1772 that the motives in Tahu Ata are not naturalistic but geometric, taking the form of "blotches, spirals, bars, chequers, and lines;" while J. R. Forster confirms this analysis, adding however, "circles," and Marchand in 1790 reiterates the two lists and swells them with "parts of circles . . . . square or oval figures . . . . inclined and variously crossed lines." It would appear, then, that in the southeastern islands during these hundred and eighty-odd years, there had been in the type of design a change from the naturalistic to the geometric.

We have no similar statements regarding what was happening in the northwestern group during the early period, the first observations there being set down by Marchand in 1790, who visited both groups. Though Marchand touched for a short time at only two bays in the northwestern islands, still it is valuable to have his statement that he finds in Ua Pou the same custom of tattooing as in Tahu Ata but not so general, few tattooed individuals being seen. (11, p. 167). Unfortunately he does not define the types of motives there as he does in Tahu Ata. Just a few years later, however, in 1803, Langsdorff gives a number of drawings from the northwestern group with explanations of them (10: Pl. VI, p. 117; Pl. VII, p. 119; Pl. VIII, p. 122; pp. XIV, XV, XVI). which show that

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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531
184

by the beginning of the nineteenth century, designs in Nuku Hiva were a combination of purely geometric figures with all save two of the principal conventional units of the latest phase of the art that at the present day is universally attributed by the natives to the southeastern islands, which for convenience may be referred to as the Hiva Oa development. Dordillon (3) gives the names of many motives which have completely disappeared today, most of them recorded in the northwestern group. Of these, several would indicate naturalistic treatment: *a'akiva*, line of sea builders; *aukohuhu*, a seaweed; *haha'ua*, a kind of ray fish; *homae*, a fish; *koao*, a fish; *matuku*, a bird; *keeheu*, wing; *tikau'e*, fly; *toetoe*, crab. Furthermore, in 1843 Melville saw fish and birds and an *ortu*(?) tree tattooed on natives of Nuku Hiva (13, p. 157); Desgraz, the same year, describes fish and shells (18, p. 223); Garcia in 1845, fish; Berchon, in 1859, boots, gloves, suns, sharks, cockroaches, coconuts, lizards. In addition to these naturalistic motives, all these visitors also saw geometric patterns, showing that in the northwestern group as long as we have any record of tattooing there, the two types have existed side by side as they do today. (For naturalistic motives see Pls. XVIII; XX, *B, c;* XI, *D;* XXX, *j;* for geometric, Pls. XVIII, XIX, XX, *A, b;* XXI, *D, a).*

On the other hand the earliest drawings obtainable that are known to be of the Hiva Oa type are those drawn by Proiho and an old *tuhuna patu tiki* of Fatu Hiva (Pls. IX, *A;* XII, *C;* XIV, *B;* XVI; XXX). These are impossible to place chronologically and are no longer found upon the body in exactly these forms. Among them is found but one genuinely naturalistic motive (Pl. XXX, *j)* but a combination of geometric figures such as squares (Pl. XII, *C, b* and *c*), bars (Pl. XXX, *C*), oblique (Pl. XXX, *d)* and variously crossed lines (Pl. XVI, *d;* XXX, *a;* XXX, *k),* with simple forms of all the modern conventional motives save the *matakomoe* of Langsdorff, now called *po'i'i* (Pl. XXXIII, *e*) and the flower-like or sunlike disk variously called *puahitu, puahue* and *huetai* (Pl. XXXIV, *e*), both of which are to be found in primitive form in the early Nuku Hiva art (Pl. XXIX, *f, c).* Today three naturalistic designs, and these very crude, are to be found in the southeastern group, and these are all the work of the same artist. (Pls. X, *A, 2, a;* XXVIII, *D, E).* The designs described as belonging to former Nuku Hiva and Fatu Hiva styles have in common several units, many of them in primitive form which are to be found today in the Hiva Oa style: for example, the *koheta* (Pls. XXX, *a;* XXIX, *a* and *b;* XXXIV, *a* and *b);* the *ka'ake* (Pls. XXX, *i;* XXIX, *k;* XXXIV, *g* insets); the *hikuhiku atu* (Pls. XXIX, *b;* XXX, *g;* XXXIII, *h);* and the *mata hoato* (Pls. XXX, *e,* lower *a;* XXIX, *g;* I, *D,* thigh); and what I

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

conceive to be the forerunner of the underarm *ipuoto*, the original *po'i'i* or shellfish motive (Pl. IX, *A*, *a*; XII, *A*, *B*, *D*).

An examination of the extant examples of the art shows a distinct cleavage between the two groups in their conception of design, that of the southeastern being purely conventional with but minor relics of the geometric and the slightest trace of the naturalistic; that of the northwestern showing several examples of naturalistic art, many of the geometric, and a simpler form of the conventional than the other. Marquesans are all agreed, that, as far as tattooing customs went, the islands were divided into two groups: Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou forming one; Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva and Ua Huka—because of its close intercourse with the north and west coast of Hiva Oa—forming the other. It may be remarked that Fatu Hiva is accepted as the home of carving and modern tattooing; but, being regarded as a kind of suburb of Hiva Oa, the latter island is referred to as the center. Several trustworthy informants declare that before the whites came, *tuhuna patu tiki* went from Hiva Oa to Nuku Hiva to teach them the art there, as before this time the Nuku Hivans used only "dirty black patches." We know that, by Melville's time, a transfer from the one to the other group was taking place, for he says that when he was in Nuku Hiva in 1843 (12, p. 48), Hiva Oa enjoyed a reputation for tattooing in the whole group. At the time of its discontinuance as a practice, it was certainly Hiva Oa tattooing that prevailed over the whole group.

Face patterns seem to have followed the same general lines of development, with a period at least of divergent styles in the two groups. Some Hiva Oa natives say that lizard motives were anciently used on the face; but early voyagers indicate only geometric figures, Marchand—the first to attempt to define them—speaking vaguely of various lines on the forehead representing kinds of hieroglyphics or characters of Chinese writing (16, Vol. II, Pl. 133; 10, Pl. VI, p. 117). Langsdorff pictures a man with a spiral on his cheek (10, Pl. VI, p. 117) and this convention is confirmed by living informants who describe these *kokoata* (Pl. V, 7) on the faces of warriors and chiefs. Today, naturalistic motives are not to be seen upon the face, but what may be a descendant of the spiral occurs on Ua Pou in a fine design on the nostril (Pl. IV, 7, 10; *V*, 4). The prevalent style called *ti'ati'apu*, to encircle several times consists of three solid stripes, sometimes seen as unfinished half-stripes, banding the face horizontally, one across the forehead, one across the eyes and the third across the mouth. (See Pls. III-V.) This is everywhere declared to be a Hiva Oa style and there is a variant where the mouth band covers the nostrils,

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

said to belong to Fatu Hiva. Of this but one living example could be found (Pl. v, 8). Of the old Nuku Hiva *paheke*, distinguished by an oblique band running from the right center of the forehead across the left eye and cheek (Pl. v, 5), there remain today but two examples. What form the transition from spiral to band may have taken can only be conjectured. A reliable Hiva Oa informant describes a former convention of that island which seems to be a combination of over-eye arcs—perhaps a relic of the spiral—, of *peheke* and *ti'ati'apu* (Pl. v, 6; see also Langsdorff's description and Pl. VIII, figs. 10, 11, p. XI). In Melville's time, both the modern styles were seen on Nuku Hiva, and in the tattooing to be seen today, the Hiva Oa has replaced the Nuku Hiva design completely. In the fine inset and inter-band motives are to be found both geometric and conventional motives, never naturalistic.

How may this divergence between groups and the growth from the naturalistic through the geometric to the conventional—as seems to be the probable development—be accounted for?

Perhaps it may be postulated that before the seventeenth century naturalistic motives were used in both groups, that during the two unrecorded centuries geometric figures appeared in the southeastern group, that these gradually replaced the naturalistic there or transformed them into the conventional, and that at each stage of development the new styles were carried to the northwest where they did not so completely obliterate or amalgamate the native patterns, some of which persist to this day in their old form.

Influences which may have contributed to such a development are suggested by an examination of adzing and carving motives. Ornamental adzing in simple geometric patterns seems to have been the primitive form of wood decoration. Imitation of its technique as well as the use of its motives on the body is evident. The former is seen in the filling of spaces, ordinarily made solid in color, with parallel, oblique, zigzag or wavy lines (Pl. III, 7, inset in eye band; XXI, *B*, *b*; XXXVI, insets in *e* and *g*; XXXV, inset barred teeth in *f*; XXX, *d*); in the use of the intersection of adzing lines to form the motive called *kopito* (Pl. XXIII, *A*, *d*; possibly also the inset in the forehead band in Pl. III, 8). In tattooing are found such housepost motives as the cross formed by adzing off the corners of a square (Pl. XII, *C*, *b*), concentric circles (Pl. XII-*E*, *b*) and concentric half-ovals (Pl. XXVIII, *E*; XVIII, *a*). It is possible that the use of four triangles in a square or oblong, as well as the conception of design in bands may have come from this art of adzing wood. When it is remembered that wood was scorched before a pattern was adzed or carved upon it, so that the design was in natural wood color, the back-

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

ground in black, the conclusion suggests itself that such motives as the *pahito* (Pl. XXIII, *A*, *j* and *k*, left and right) and the flamelike ends of triangles (XVIII, XIX *A*) may be copies of the black background left by gouging alongside a line in the one case and by cutting short lines vertically out from a straight line in the other. It seems as if the checkerboard pattern, of which but one example is extant, must have originally been carved on wood (Pl. XXI, *D, a*). Parallel and wavy lines and other adzing and carving concepts are used on the body, as seen in the preceding example. It will be noticed that most of these coincidences are found in Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou or early Fatu Hiva types, rather than in the prevalent modern patterns, though among these are two examples of the scroll so prominent in carving (see also Pls. XXXVIII, *D;* XXXV, *c*).

Wood carving, as distinguished from adzing, which decorated bowls, paddles, clubs, etc., seems to be a mixture of adzing patterns, geometric squarish spirals and a few of the conventional motives usual in tattooing. Of carving technique copies such as the veining along a midrib (Pl. XXVIII *E*) are found in tattooing; of carving design, similarities to old war club patterns (Pl. VI, *B;* X, *A*, 2, *a;* the *tavu*, which was formerly burned on a plank in the house of the inspirational priest (Pl. XVI, *m*); and such small units as the *tiki* in forehead and mouth bands of Plate III, 7. Common to both carving and tattooing are such conventional motives as the *honu kea* or woodlouse, the *mata hoata* or brilliant eye, the *ka'ake* or underarm curve, the *poka'a* or wooden block for carrying a load on the shoulder, the *enata* or man. Whether these motives originated as wood carving patterns or as body decoration and in which direction the transfer and adaption was made it is impossible to say definitely.

Several interesting possibilities are suggested by an analysis of the various motives called *kea* today. It would appear that the *kea* of common occurrence on wood is really a conventionalization of the *honu kea* or woodlouse with its six legs and two antennae. This was seen but once in tattooing, on the wrist of an old woman of Fatu Hiva (Pl. VII, *A*, 1, *a*) and was drawn by an artist of Fatu Hiva as a former unit there (Pl. XVI, *K*). On the other hand, the usual body *kea* (Pl. XXII, *B, b* center) may very well be a simple conventionalization of one of the carved tortoise-shell plaques of the *paekea* or crown—a carved product of Hiva Oa—the motive having been borrowed from shell rather than from wood carving. There is a motive found today in tattooing on Ua Pou (Pl. XX, *A, e;* XXI, *D, b*) and depicted also as an early Fatu Hiva unit (Pl. IX, *A, b*) which resembles the *e honu*, tortoise, drawn by Langsdorff, and this, which has disappeared from Hiva Oa tattooing, may perhaps be said

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

304 531 184

to be the only conventional derivative of a naturalistic portrayal of the tortoise and probably the only pure body motive among the variants called *kea*. The southeastern carving motive is the *kea* which prevails today.

Another usual conventional motive appearing both in carving and tattooing, the *mata hoata*, or brilliant eye (Pl. XXVI, *A. e)*, would appear to have originated in neither, being, in its simplest form, a copy of the eyes, ears and nostrils of a *tiki* or image face. Only on wood is this simple copy found today, and on wood we find all the transition stages of its development to the highly conventionalized unit common in tattooing today; whence it would appear that the *mata hoata* originated in sculpture, was copied upon wood, and transferred to the body, where it gradually was elaborated and more highly conventionalized. (For development see Pl. XXX, *b*, which is found only on wood today; XI, *A, c;* XVIII, *b;* XXXIV, *b;* XXXIII, *c;* XXIII, *B, f, a;* XXIII, *A, a*, center.)

Of conventional motives the *ka'ake* is perhaps the most widely used. Dordillon gives *kakekake* as one of the words used to designate tattooing which is entirely finished. He spells the word *"kake,"* but it seems better to adopt the spelling *"ka'ake"* for the following reasons: The distinguishing feature of the motive is its never varying curve which seems to correspond to the line of the under-arm curve or arm-pit for which the native term is *ka'ake*. The assumption that this curve of the body originally gave the name to the motive is borne out by several lines of reasoning. In the first place, Langsdorff assigns the placing of this motive originally to the inside arm and ribs (10, p. XV); in the second place, we have described for us this simple under-arm curve as its earliest form (Pl. XXIX, *h;* XXX, *i);* and in the third place, the elaborations of this curve, as the motive grew in complexity, are representations of the *enata* or man with upraised arms (Pl. VI, *B*, center bottom), and of the *poka'a* (Pl. IX, *B* at base of fingers) or curved wooden object placed on the shoulders on which to rest a pole in carrying a heavy load. The association of ideas seems obvious and we find them associated today as minor decorations in the under-arm pattern (Pl. XIII, *B, a, b;* XIII, *C, c* and *d;* XIV, *A*). This combination is especially marked in the simpler forms of the *ka'ake* as found on Ua Pou (Pl. XX, *B, b)* and Nuka Hiva (Pl. XV, *a)*. Although this unit appears upon wood, it seems reasonable to suggest that it was originally a body pattern.

There are certain body motives which seem never or rarely to have been used upon wood, such as the *huetai* (Pl. XXXIV, *e*) and the *po'i'i* (Pl. XXXIII, *e;* XXVI, *A, d*, center), which are associated with early Nuku Hiva, not Hiva Oa, art; and there are some which are just beginning to be transferred to wood at the present time, as the *ipu'oto*, another unit

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

found in early Nuku Hiva design (Pl. XIII); but it seems impossible definitely to assign particular conventional motives to the one medium or the other. However, it may perhaps be stated that geometric elements did originate on wood, and that the influence of geometric adzing and carving appears in tattooing both in certain transferred elements and in a general conventionalization of the primitive naturalistic motives. Inasmuch as Fatu Hiva is known to be the carving center, we may further define the geometric influence as springing directly from wood-carvers of the southeastern group.

The use of solid patches may be traced with interest, as here again we find a different treatment in the two groups. Some modern informants describe the men of Nuku Hiva as formerly having half of the body entirely black (Pl. XII, B); one remembers seeing a man with solid-black legs; several testify that when a man was completely tattooed in design, if he could bear it, the spaces were gone over and filled in until all pattern was obliterated and he was completely black. In corroborating this custom in Nuku Hiva, Langsdorff says that he saw some old men who were punctured over and over to such a degree that the outlines of each separate figure were scarcely to be distinguished and the body had an almost negro-like appearance. (See also 14, p. 78; 8, p. 155; 17, p. 306; 1, p. 106.) There are no accounts of such a practice in the southeastern islands, and this seems to point to an aesthetic sense there, which was lacking in the northwest, for certainly people with sufficient artistic sense to originate these beautiful patterns would not have covered them afterwards and considered the results the "height of perfection in ornament," as did the *tuhuna* of Nuku Hiva, according to Langsdorff and the other early voyagers.

Desgraz, who was in Nuku Hiva at approximately the same time as Melville, when Hiva Oa tattooing was the vogue, describes the use there of black bands containing delicate figures. These are today the fundamentally distinguishing feature of the Hiva Oa type of body design as well as of the face pattern. On the other hand, both from descriptions of natives today and from examination of the tattooing of the only old man and old woman to be found, whose patterns were put on by Nuku Hiva *tuhuna*, the basic principle of the Nuku Hiva type seems to have been solid patches. Leg patterns for women found today fall into three distinct types: that of Nuku Hiva (Pls. XVII-XIX), Ua Pou (Pls. XX-XXI), and Hiva Oa (Pls. XXII-XXVIII). The first is distinguished by triangular patches of different sizes fitted together with half inch spaces between them, the only regularity of arrangement being their placing so as to form a straight line down the center front of the leg. Flamelike edges, inset teeth, and

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

geometric linings, with here and there a naturalistic unit, break up the heavy patches and add to their irregular and fancy appearance. Examination of the leg motives of this very *tapu* Nuku Hiva chiefess, who must have employed the best artist obtainable, provokes the suggestion that these insets were crude and inartistic attempts at a style from the southeast which had perhaps just been introduced into Nuku Hiva and with which the Nuku Hiva *tuhuna* was not acquainted or perhaps to which he was not equal. The second type, that of Ua Pou, is put on below the knee only, in horizontal bands of delicately lined patterns, the motives on either side of the center, front and back, being exactly alike. The whole may be conceived of in front and back longitudinal sections of symmetrical halves, which meet in the middle of either side of the leg. Naturalistic, geometric and conventional treatments are all present. The third type, that of Hiva Oa, which was the prevalent style at the time of the discontinuance of the art, is similar in arrangement to that of Ua Pou, extending however high up onto the thigh, and presents a mean between the two former in heaviness of treatment, the fine lines swelling into black curves. The mode is almost purely conventional. The two latter may be characterized as curvilinear; the former, as angular in design.

The leg patterns to be seen on living men fall into two types, a single example representing that of Nuku Hiva (Pl. XXXI), all the rest being of the Hiva Oa type (Pls. XXXII-XXXVIII). The former is characterized by unadorned heavy patches, triangular and oblong in shape, fitted together obliquely with no plan of arrangement save the formation of a straight intersection down the front of the leg. Teeth are the only insets. The Hiva Oa examples show the style to be of horizontal bands extending around three quarters of the leg, the inside front quarter being filled with triangles in the Nuku Hiva style (Pl. XXXIV, *e-j*), indicating, perhaps, a borrowing from the heavy black patches of that group. The thigh band and the underknee band are always composed either of four triangles or of triangles and parallelograms with insets of teeth; but beyond this, this style is totally different from the Nuku Hiva example, variations of the same fine line motives used in Hiva Oa for women being set into *pahito* so that the heavy bands become merely a framework for them. The Nuku Hiva pattern drawn from life stands quite apart from that pictured by early navigators (10, pp. 117, 119; 16, Pl. 132) and described by a modern informant on Fatu Hiva (See Pl. XXIX). It is a pity that no other living example of the work of a Nuku Hiva artist could be found, as it is unsafe to make any general statement about it.

At the present time, there is but one type of back decoration for men (Pl. XIV, *C*): eight heavy rectangular patches arranged in pairs along the

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

back bone with fine line insets and a girdle. These are called *peka tua*, back cross, by an informant of Nuku Hiva and may be an outgrowth of the cross on the back described by Langsdorff (10, p. 123), though the present mode bears no resemblance to a cross, being rather another example of band construction.

With the band construction of the present day, then, are associated exact technique, perfect symmetry, an evident understanding of anatomy and fitting of design to the body, and motives which are akin in name and formation to those carved on bowls, paddles, canoes, and similar objects. The distinguishing features accompanying the oblique patch type are irregularity, no sense of the design as a whole, no fitting of the motives to the body, naturalistic units, fussy, elaborate, non-aesthetic, fine-line insets.

A survey of these two types of body decoration leads naturally to the suggestion that there was a fundamental difference of concept between the two groups regarding the reason for its use. Plainly, there was an emphasis upon endurance and fortitude in the mind of the northwesterner when he braved the pain of a completely perforated skin; while the southeasterner looked upon the art as more purely decorative. Dordillon gives the word *ne'one'o* as meaning "what inspires horror (in speaking of a wound)," and "to cry a long time;" and this word with the addition of the phrase, *"i te tiki"* means "completely covered with tattooing." It is the pain of which the people of the Marquesas speak today when displaying their decorations, and it must be admitted that this is as true in the one group as in the other.

The only practical reason for tattooing that was suggested by living informants came from a man of Nuku Hiva, who, in describing an old mode of the northwestern group of tattooing half of the entire body solid black, accounts for this style by saying that such a one turned his black side towards the enemy during a battle, so that he could not be distinguished or recognized.

Inquiry into the naming of motives may throw some light upon their significance in the native mind. Appreciation of the anatomy of the body is often of such paramount importance as to give the name of the body part to the motive which is fitted to it, the *fatina* (joint) or knee jointure pattern (Pl. XXXIV, *f*) being a case in point. The same sense of body form is approached from a slightly different angle, as in the naming of the buttock pattern, *tifa* (cover) (Pl. XXXV, *c*), the convex of the body part resembling the cover of a calabash. Motives are sometimes referred to in purely technical terms of form: such as *paka* (Pl. XXXV, *h*) a splinter; *kopito* (Pl. XXIII, *A, d*, left and right) zigzag: or in terms of

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

INTER-ISLAND DIFFERENCES

In the seriation tables and the tables of standard deviations and coefficients of variation (Tables II, VII and VIII) there is evidence of non-homogeneity in this series. Handy suggests from observation and a study of his records shows that there are possibly inter-island differences in physical type correlated with differences in culture. From his own observation Handy concludes that the people of the island of Ua Pou have larger and rounder heads and faces and straighter hair; while the people of Fatu Hiva and Hiva Oa have smaller, longer heads and curlier hair. In this opinion he was confirmed by a settler who had been resident in the islands for about twelve years. Since the series is so small it will be necessary to group the islands in order to get series of dependable size. On this point Handy again helps out with the statement that cultural and traditional evidence points to the possibility of two different subdivisions within the island groups. Some evidence (language for example) points to the grouping of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou and Ua Huka in one group and Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, and Fatu Hiva in the other. On the other hand, other evidence (traditional, other linguistic, and also archaeological) groups the western half of Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and the western half of Hiva Oa with Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva for one section and eastern Nuku Hiva, Ua Huka, and eastern Hiva Oa for the second section.

As the first grouping divides the material used for study into almost equal parts, it seems best to adopt it tentatively. Before dealing with the distribution of the differences it seems wise to determine the magnitude of these differences. The southeastern islands of Fatu Hiva, Tahu Ata, and Hiva Oa will be called for convenience Group I. The northwestern islands of Ua Pou, Ua Huku, and Nuku Hiva will be called Group II.

The results of such a grouping will be found in Table IX and Table X. In Group I the average stature is less, the minimum frontal diameter is less, the face width is smaller, the bigonial diameter is less, the face and also the nose is markedly higher, the nose is narrower, the relative shoulder height is greater, the cephalic index is smaller, the facial index is larger, and the nasal index is smaller. The other differences are contradictory in the two sexes. The results for hair form are also somewhat doubtful and contradictory. In Group I the hair of the men is somewhat more wavy but for the women the reverse is true. In Group I the axes of the nostrils are more often antero-posterior and oblique; in Group II they are more often transverse. The incisor rim is likewise more frequent in Group I.

Fourteen different colors were given as approaching the skin color of the Marquesans. These colors were arranged into a series of increasing pigmentation. The lighest in color was numbered one, the darkest was given a value of fourteen.

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, the behavior may actually be a local development. It is doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the disparate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was given concerning the relative chronological order of this ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche ceremony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, therefore, that if had any direct or close relationship to puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, resembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid 221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only survivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of rationship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged